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Sugar made Morelos a 175
contributor to the wealth of Mexico, but it reduced 249
the population to landless peonage. The revolution 423
which began in 1910, especially in Morelos, may be 669
regarded as the conflict between two social-economic systems: the one an ancient Indian tradition of self-sufficient and independent villages enjoying corporate land tenure, and the other a new capitalistic system of large-scale production of a money crop contributory to a world-economy. The agrarian reforms following the revolution broke up some of these estates. Others were kept together and operated by the state in an attempt to preserve the sugar plantations; but many lands where sugar was once grown have reverted to maize.

The northern border of Morelos lies along a part of 133
the rampart which hems in the valley of Mexico. Going south from Mexico City, one climbs this valley wall, the Sierra of Ajusco, at an elevation of nine thousand feet above the sea. Standing upon the southern edge of the escarpment one stands also on the threshold of Morelos. There the rampart drops suddenly away into warm green valleys that go on and down one beyond the other in a maze of slighter mountains that from this eminence are no more than hills.

In each shelf or pocket of the mountains lies a vil- 131
lage, or a cluster of villages. Close underneath the 133
row of peaks[1] which forms the last bulwark of the 361
escarpment is situated Tepoztlán. This village is the

[1] This *sierra*, the southwestern margin of the *cordillera* of Ajusco, extends southeastward to the *pueblo* of Tlayacapan, Morelos. It is composed of basaltic tufa and fine volcanic ash.

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the towers of the church. Periods of revolution temporarily scattered the people and retarded development.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Tepoztlán reached its highest level of development. This was largely due to the activities of José Guadalupe Rojas, and later members of the same family. Under their influence the schools of the church were supplemented by night schools for adults, an attempt was made to publish a local newspaper; an "academy" was founded for the conduct of discussions in the Nahuatl language. This period of local brilliance coincided with the general peace attending the régime of Díaz. Much of the sophistication attained during this era was lost during the revolution of 1910–21. Then for a time Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated, and intellectuals, such as the members of the Rojas family, never returned.

After the first invasion of conqueror and of priest, it is doubtful if many persons of Spanish blood came to live in Tepoztlán.[1] The contacts with Europeans were effected by the movement of Tepoztecans to Mexico City or to other cities. These movements, frequent and accelerated by periods of revolution, have continued for four centuries. In a straight line—if it

[1] A document in the National Library of Paris, dating from the last decade of the seventeenth century or the first decade of the eighteenth, includes a census of *pueblos* in the Cuernavaca region. This gives for Tepoztlán 885 heads of families (*vecinos*), 2,628 persons (*almas*), that were Indians; 55 heads of families, 223 persons of *otras castas*—no doubt whites and *mestizos* (Manuel Mazari, art., "Un antiguo padrón itinerario del estado de Morelos," p. 151). The amount of white blood probably declined after this period.

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specifically and commonly it refers to the images of Christian saints housed in temples. *Veterano*, on the other hand, is not a word with this precise conceptual connotation. It is an appellation applied to any distinguished military leader. People do not say *los veteranos* as they do say *los santos*. But the term always implies the heroic qualities which, tending to become mythical, make the *veterano* a symbol rather than an individual person; and, therefore, it is convenient to use it to denote this secular complement of the *santo*.

Every revolution produces its hundreds of *veteranos*. The memories of the lesser *veteranos* exert an influence as local as that of the lesser *santos*. The reputation of a few becomes as wide as Mexico. Probably the best known of these popular heroes is Pancho Villa,[1] and perhaps the one other who comes close to national fame is Emiliano Zapata. In spite of this wide notoriety, Zapata remains, however, a particular hero, and the greatest hero, of the Indians of Morelos. There live the memories of many other Zapatista generals—of Felipe Neri, Sirino Serna, Diego Ruiz, and Everardo González. There were at least five Zapatista generals from Tepoztlán.[2] There are stories about all of these, and *corridos* about many, but the heroic qualities of none of them can compare with the local conception of Emiliano Zapata, the principal leader of the southern revolutionary movement against Carranza.

[669]
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[1] There are many *corridos* about Villa and several popular books describing his life and exploits.

[2] The three Sanchez brothers and the two Galvan brothers.

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000 ranza. A Tepoztecan tells what he knows about Za-
173 pata in the following words:
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Yes, I saw Zapata many times. He was a short, slender man with long black mustaches. I was sixteen years old during the revolution. It began this way. Zapata was a poor boy; they had nothing to eat in his house but *tortillas*. When he grew up he worked as a *peón*. After Díaz had to run away, Zapata began with no more than a dozen men who went with him to the hills. Then more joined him. But they had no money. The way he fed his soldiers was this: he would go to a *pueblo* and say, "We need so many *tortillas*, so much beans." The people were glad to bring them. Madero tried to betray Zapata, and on pretense of friendship was going to kill him. But Zapata would not be caught. When the people heard how Madero wanted to betray him, they rose in support of Zapata.

[669] Once there was a battle in Tepoztlán between General Sanchez and the Carranzistas, and the Carranzistas were beaten. Sanchez was killed in an attack they made on a train at a station on the Balsas line they call La Cañada. That discouraged the Zapatistas. Everything grew calm again. But there was a time when Zapata held all the state, and for four months he was in Mexico City.

Zapata was killed by treason. General Guajardo, a Carranzista, sent word he would like to make an agreement with Zapata, by which he would go over to Zapata, and asked Zapata to meet him at the *hacienda* of Chinameca. Zapata accepted, and came with only twenty-five soldiers. Guajardo greeted him in a friendly way, and tried to get Zapata to drink with him. They had good beer brought all the way from Mexico, and of course *la mula*.[1] But Zapata would not drink. He went out with his men to make a circuit of the hills, to make sure there were no federal troops near. Guajardo kept reassuring him there was no danger; that his men were watching. When Zapata came back and entered the *portón*, Guajardo's men fired on him and he fell dead. But afterward Guajardo was killed by the Zapatistas.

[1] *Aguardiente.*

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Zapata was a very great man. The only reason he lost was that he had no money. He fought for the poor people, but the millionaires were against him.

Zapata as a symbol embodies the group consciousness of the Indians of Morelos which developed during the revolution. His exploits are sung all over Mexico, but it is especially in Morelos that his memory is revered. *Corridos*[1] about him, written elsewhere in Mexico, describe his "base passions" and refer to him as "an Attila." But in the songs of the local collection he is "our defender," "a Napoleon," "our exalted savior," "the scourge of many a traitor," and "so wise and quick-thinking a *veterano*."

Les encargó a las fuerzas surianas	He charged the forces of the south
Que como jefe y sublime redentor;	As chief and exalted savior;
Su memoria conserven mañana	To preserve his memory tomorrow
Como prueba de su patrio amor.	As a proof of their love of country.

It is only in Morelos, in Tepoztlán and scores of Indian villages like it, that Zapata becomes truly legendary, and then even mythical. It is only in Morelos that he becomes a King Arthur, a Robin Hood. The stories and songs about Zapata may be dignified with the term "cycle." To the extent that these stories and songs merely keep alive a glorious memory they are legends—the folk counterpart of history. To the extent that the figure of Zapata defines the standards and justifies the conduct and ethical judgments of the people out of which he arose, they are myths.

[1] Obtained in printed form in Mexico City.

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one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque.

This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.[1]

[1] A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees.

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

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During this period there were no civilians in Tepoztlán. Many of the men joined the forces of Zapata. To those who did not was presented the choice of fleeing to the hills or of going to one of the cities, usually Mexico City, where security was greater. The people who were already used to the city and who were more likely to have friends there and to have the money necessary to become established there, went to the city. The poorer people, who were also those least used to city ways, were the ones who went to the hills. Hill exile was a life of isolation, a life of rumor, of reliance upon the most primitive techniques of maintenance.[1]

killed; the corn was eaten up. If an orange was found it was taken quickly and eaten green. Many, many died of hunger, both soldiers and non-combatants. When, after this time, food was obtained again, some died because they ate too much. We began with a half a *tortilla* at a time, and so escaped death from gorging."

[1] A *tonto* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian tells of his experiences: "Times were very horrible during the revolution. At first people stayed in Tepoztlán. J. C. [a *correcto*] was not there, but his father stayed at first, until it grew too bad; and then he too went to Mexico City. Tepoztlán was deserted for two years. The soldiers came and ate the corn, and killed all the animals. The Carranzistas killed what they didn't want to eat; not an animal was left. The troops came at last to eat dogs and cats, there was so little food. No one was safe. Many were killed, and not even buried. If the Carranzistas saw anyone, they shot him without any question.

"Many went to the cities, some to the hills. I went to the hills with my family. There were my father, my mother, and seven brothers. I was sixteen. We lived in a cave in the heights, in that direction [toward Yautepec]. We took the *metates* along. But we had no animals; we carried everything ourselves. We lived by what food we could find in the hills or in the towns, and by what we could sell in Mexico City. We used to carry fruit to Mexico to sell. Fruit was very expensive there. We sold limes at ten *pesos* a hundred. If you could just get a hold of a thousand limes and bring them to Mexico City, you had a hundred *pesos*. We took avocados too. We traveled only at night. It took two nights. When dawn came we camped somewhere in the hills beyond Tres Marías. Xochimilco was the bad place to go through; the Carranzistas waited there and killed many. We brought back soap and salt.

"Then the fever came. Three of my brothers died. Bury them there? No, we

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City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

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The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 was a turning point in the history of Tepoztlán as well as of the nation, and was a major influence in breaking down any remaining isolation of the village. Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapatista country, and few villages suffered greater upheavals. The village was alternately occupied by opposing Zapatista and federal forces recruited from all parts of the country, and both left their progeny in the village, further adding to the mixture of physical types. At one time or another during this period the entire population fled to the hills or to Mexico City, Guerrero, Puebla, and other parts of the country, and as a result there is a large proportion of adults who have lived outside of Tepoztlán.

The Revolution also brought about the overthrow of the ruling *cacique* group in Tepoztlán and a general lessening of social and economic class differences. The communal lands which had been under the control of local *caciques* were now freely available to all Tepoztecans. Furthermore, the municipio regained the land it had lost to a neighboring hacienda and thus participated in the benefits of the national *ejido* program. In addition, the Revolution has meant a general rise in the standard of living, the expansion of educational facilities, as well as a weakening of the older concepts of authoritarianism and a corresponding strengthening of democratic values.

Tepoztlán mirrors many national trends and brings into sharp focus some of the most pressing problems of Mexico as a nation. The changes which have occurred in Tepoztlán since the Revolution, such as the introduction of corn mills, the building of modern highways, and the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, are typical of changes that are taking place over wide areas throughout Mexico. The poor agricultural resources, the relative importance of forest and grazing lands in the agricultural economy, soil erosion and exhaustion, deforestation, the small size of both private and *ejido* landholdings, population pressure, and low productivity are among the problems which stand out in Tepoztlán as in the nation. One of the advantages of studying these problems within the framework of a single municipio and village is that we can better understand the inter-relationship between geographic, historic, economic, social, political, and psychological factors; and above all, it is possible to know better what these problems and changes mean to the people themselves.

It is important, also, to consider the ways in which Tepoztlán is distinctive. If we compare Tepoztlán with other villages in Mexico, rather than with the nation as a whole, we find that in many ways it is atypical. Tepoztlán is a large village, larger than ninety per cent of the villages of Mexico, making for a greater complexity of social organization. Tepoztlán has been a political and administrative center of the municipio since the Conquest and even under Moctezuma; it has retained its communal lands,[29] a long tradition of literacy, and a local intelligentsia

[29] Simpson, in connection with an otherwise excellent critique of Chase's romantic version of Tepoztlán, has written that Tepoztlán cannot be considered a "typical" Mexican village or municipio because, according to Helen Phipps (*Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico —A Historical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1925), p. 120) it was the only village in the entire state of Morelos which maintained its communal lands. It seems to me that Phipps' statement is a considerable exaggeration. At least three of the municipios surrounding Tepoztlán did not lose all of their communal lands before the Revolution; their lands, like those

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(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlaminxtepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semi-tropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

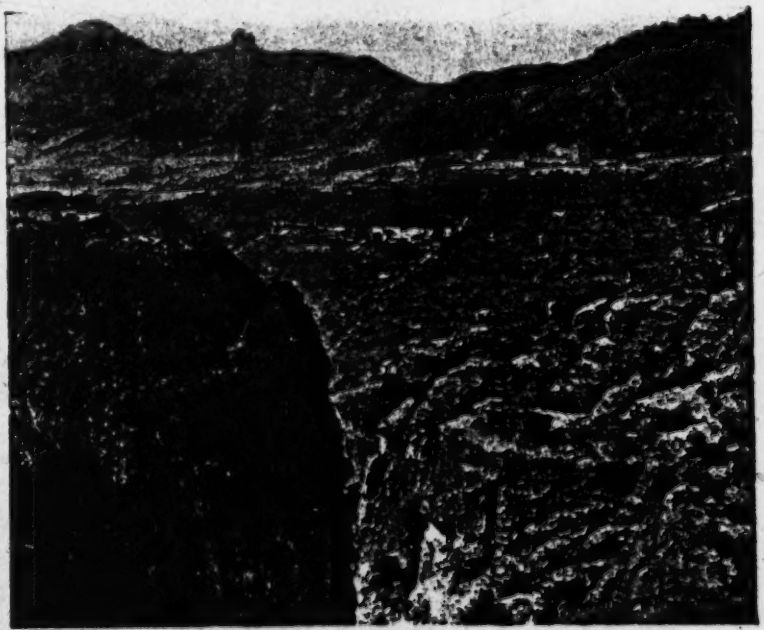

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

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The Catholic Church within the state has its regional seat in Cuernavaca, where the bishop resides. The priest in Tepoztlán is under his supervision and carries out his instructions. Periodic religious pilgrimages establish important ties with other parts of the state. Within Tepoztlán there are the following *mayordomías*, each of which organizes at least one annual visit to another town. The *mayordomías* in Tepoztlán proper include Mazatepec, Jiutepec, Tejalpa, Tlayacapan, all in Morelos, and Chalma in the state of Guerrero. Four of the seven villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán also have *mayordomías* that relate them to the state. Santiago goes to Oacalco and Yautepec; Gabriel Mariaca to Ixcatepec, Tlayacapan, Cuautla, Jojutla, Jiutepec, and Mazatepec, all in Morelos, to Amecameca in the state of Mexico, to Chalma in Guerrero, and to the Villa de Guadalupe in the Federal District. Ocotitlán goes to the Villa de Guadalupe, Chalma, and Amecameca. San Juan goes to Mazatepec, Chalma, the Villa de Guadalupe, and Amecameca.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 has been one of the most important factors in developing a sense of nationalism among Tepoztecans. Many Tepoztecans joined the ranks of the Zapatistas and had occasion to travel widely with the guerrilla forces. As we have pointed out, the rest of the population was forced to flee to other parts of the nation. All of this meant more extensive contacts with the outside.

During the years of the Revolution and thereafter, many of the *caudillos* of the Revolution, such as Zapata and Obregón, established the custom of visiting the peasants personally and discussing local problems. Contact with the rural population has been one of the policies of the post-Revolution presidents since Calles. Tepoztecans now think of the president of Mexico not only as a representative of the powerful government, but also as a popular figure, a friend of the peasants.

It is not uncommon for Tepoztecans to send requests or protests directly to the president. This has happened in almost every case of conflict between factions in the village or in cases of boundary quarrels with neighboring villages or municipios. This attitude toward the president was reinforced by the personal visit of General Lázaro Cárdenas to the village during his presidency. Cárdenas arrived in the village on foot, without any previous announcement or preparation, and accompanied only by a small contingent of friends and officials. The president set up a temporary office in the atrium of the church, where he consulted Tepoztecans about their problems. The big request from the village was for aid with the construction of a road to Cuernavaca. The president acceded, and the road was quickly completed with federal help.

The national elections for the president, which come every six years, also give Tepoztecans an opportunity to discuss political themes of nation-wide scope. Before the elections, delegates and politicians visit the village to organize local committees in favor of their particular group or candidate. During such campaigns Tepoztecans become more keenly aware that they are acting not only as Tepoztecans and as Morelenses, but also as members of the Mexican nation.

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tury seemed to have little effect on Tepoztecan internal structure. The political life of the village continued in the hands of families who represented a mixture of the old *principales* and the new Spanish elite.

During the Díaz regime the domination of the village by the upper *cacique* group reached its peak, and class distinctions were marked. The *caciques* owned most of the privately held land, controlled the communal lands of the municipio and the local government, and formed an elite group who had social contacts with the elite of Cuernavaca and even of Mexico City. They were set apart from the rest of the village population by their large and more elaborate homes located in the center of the village, their urban styled clothing, their literacy and superior education. Vicente Ortega, the *cacique* in power almost until the outbreak of the Revolution, was a *compadre* of the governor of the state of Morelos, and served as a representative to the state legislature; and other leading Tepoztecans achieved high positions in the state administrative hierarchy.

The Revolution transformed the social structure of the village. The upper or *cacique* families fled the village for their lives and lost most of their wealth, particularly their cattle and artisan shops. The poor who remained also had to leave the village repeatedly, and sought refuge in the surrounding *cerros* when government troops were approaching. Once peace was restored, the families slowly began to return to the village. Some of the *caciques* or their sons also returned to take up residence in their battered or burned homes. It was necessary for all, rich and poor, to begin life anew and build back to normalcy. But they were building within a new social framework. The participation of the villagers in the ranks of the Zapatista forces, the revolutionary slogans of "land and liberty" and "down with the *caciques*" had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and acted as a distinct levelling influence. The political dominance of the *caciques* was gone. And a fundamental economic change had occurred, for the communal lands of the municipio, which constituted about eighty per cent of all the lands, were again available to the villagers. By 1930 the village had also recovered its *ejido* from one of the nearby haciendas, further broadening the land base in the village.

FACTORS IN STATUS

Today, class distinctions in Tepoztlán are much less marked; the former economic and social bases for class distinctions are gone.[2] But there are numerous status distinctions in the village, and the possibility of some future development of sharper stratification on the basis of wealth can be seen. It might be more accurate to describe present-day Tepoztlán as an incipient class society.[3] Sex, age, and kinship

[1] Memory of former class distinctions remains and exerts some influence. The expression, "He is the son of a *cacique* family," was used repeatedly by our informants.

[2] The term "class" is used here in the traditional sense to distinguish between broad social groupings differentiated from other groupings by their relationship to the process of production, by occupational distinctions, income levels, and a sense of social distance that makes for cohesive social groups over a period of time. In this definition I follow MacIver who writes, "It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinc-

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says, "He has no land" it is the equivalent of stating that a man is poor. But the contrast between landless and landholders from a purely economic point of view is not sharp, because most landholders have tiny holdings and do not live any better than many who are landless.[4] Yet, even the ownership of a small parcel adds to a man's social standing because of the positive value associated with land-ownership. The acquisition of even a small parcel of land gives the Tepoztecan a feeling of well being and security. It should be noted that the landholders and the landless do not constitute distinct social classes, and there is no conflict of ideologies between them.

Within the category of landholders a distinction is made between (1) *propietarios*, those who own private land; (2) *ejidatarios*, those who hold *ejido* parcels; and (3) *tlacololeros*, those who work communal lands. The economic aspects of these three distinct tenurial types will be treated later.[5] Here it should be noted that, in a sense, each represents a distinct status group, with the greatest prestige attached to *propietarios* and the least to the *tlacololeros*. In addition, each group has different and sometimes conflicting interests, and as such is developing distinctive group consciousness.

The *tlacololeros*, for example, organized themselves during the thirties and have taken the leadership in defending the communal lands in boundary disputes with other municipios, because these are the lands upon which they depend. The *tlacololeros* as a group have been opposed to the nationalization of the communal lands of the municipio and the creation of a municipal *ejido*. They view the transfer of *tlacolol* land to *ejidatarios* as a threat to their interests. Thus, the *tlacololeros* are the staunchest defenders of the ancient Indian system of communal land-ownership.

The *ejidatarios*, on the other hand, do not share the collectivist tendencies of the *tlacololeros*. On the contrary, they seem motivated by a strong sense of individualism and would like to become private owners of the *ejido* parcels assigned them. The *ejidatarios* are perhaps the most politically conscious group in the village, for their welfare depends in large measure on political considerations, and particularly on maintaining cordial relations with the *ejido* commissioner.

LABOR RELATIONS

Most landowners in Tepoztlán have occasion to be both employers and employees during the year. As employers they hire *peones* to help with the planting and harvesting, and as employees they hire themselves out to other landowners or artisans when work on their own land is over. This double role is a common one and blurs whatever class lines there are in Tepoztlán. Even those who are *peones* the whole year round hope some day to be landowners and employers. Also, employees are frequently relatives, *compadres*, or friends with whom there is a reciprocal arrangement of aid or labor exchange. There are no men who employ many workers on a large scale; three or four *peones* who are hired for short periods

[4] The contrast between landholder and landless was much sharper before the Revolution.
[5] See Chapter 6, "Land Tenure," p. 113.

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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agreeable to settling the issue and offered to sell the land titles back to Tepoztlán. A wealthy Tepoztecan, Vicente Gómez, offered to lend the money to the municipio for the purchase of the titles. This man later became a leading *cacique* in the village and controlled the local government. In an attempt to recover his loan, he levied heavy taxes on each sack of charcoal produced by Tepoztecans. A group of villagers finally assassinated him.

The land titles were again lost between 1900 and 1905 when a local priest sold to an outsider the land titles and other important documents kept in the archives of the convent.[8] A few years later the village had to buy them back at a high price. This occurred again in 1925 when the municipio paid 800 pesos to buy back its land titles from a non-Tepoztecan woman into whose hands they had fallen.

Judging from the early documents, there was little change in the system of communal landholdings during the entire colonial period. The only references of significance show that as early as 1567 Cortés had rented some Tepoztecan lands to the operator of his Hacienda of Tlaltenango and also to some Tepoztecans. Presumably Cortés was using communal lands for this purpose. The first great change in the system of landholdings occurred after the Revolution of 1857 when most of the communal lands held by the church were taken over by some of the leading families of the village as private property. After this time Tepoztecans could petition the local authorities for title to some of the communal lands.

One occasion for a fairly large distribution of communal lands to individual Tepoztecans occurred in the late 1890's as a result of an attempt of the Hacienda of Oacalco to grab some of the Tepoztecan lands. To present a stronger legal claim, the local authorities encouraged Tepoztecans to file claims for individual plots of land in the area which was being threatened, so that individual court actions could be lodged against the hacienda if the lands were taken. The private owners of the said lands backed up their newly acquired claims by force of arms, and managed to keep the lands for Tepoztlán. However, despite the Reform Laws of 1857, most of the communal lands of Tepoztlán remained intact and were not converted into private property.

Although the municipio of Tepoztlán held on to most of its communal lands, these lands were under the control of the local *caciques* and, therefore, were not always available to the landless Tepoztecans. Before the Revolution of 1910–20, the *caciques*, with the support of state and federal authorities, prohibited the villagers from using the communal lands in order to assure a cheap labor supply for themselves. One of the most important effects of the Revolution upon Tepoztlán was that the communal lands of the municipio became open to all Tepoztecans.

Another important change in the status of the communal lands occurred shortly after the Revolution as a result of the National Ejido Program. On April 24, 1921, a group of Tepoztecans, led by members of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico

[8] Manuel Miranda y Marrón, "Una Excursión a Tepoztlán," *Société Scientifique*, Bk. 23 (1905–06), pp. 22-23.

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427 A man who pays his rent despite crop failure earns the reputation of being *muy honrado* (very honorable) and is sought as a renter.

There is no sharecropping as such in Tepoztlán. When rental is in corn, there is a fixed quantity of corn agreed upon in advance, rather than a percentage of the crop. The landowner, therefore, takes little risk.

LAND VALUES

423 435 178 458 469 The price of most agricultural lands, that is, the lands which Tepoztecans classify as second and third class, has increased more slowly than other lands, as can be seen in Table 26. During and immediately after the Revolution of 1910-20, land prices fell sharply. Many sold their land at any price in order to stave off starvation, and land parcels changed hands for a small quantity of corn. Since 1920, land prices have been rising steadily. This rise was accentuated by the new road which, with the influx of tourists who have sought land for summer homes, has made for a phenomenal rise in the price of house sites in the village. Distance from the road and from the central plaza, and proximity to one of the twenty-six water fountains, are the most important factors affecting the price of land.

TABLE 26. Land Prices From 1901 to 1944.

Year	Cost of House Sites (in Pesos)		Cost of Arable Land per Hectare (in Pesos)	
	10 to 500 Meters From Water Fountains	500 or More Meters From Water Fountains	Poorest Land	Best Land
1901–1910	60	40	40	60
1911–1920	30	15	10	20
1921–1926	40	25	25	100
1927–1930	70	50	60	150
1931–1935	100	75	120	200
1936–1940	175	125	200	400
1941	300	250	350	450
1942	500	300	400	500
1943	1,000	400	450	800
1944	2,000	1,000	500	1,000

423 432 178 The change in the Tepoztecan attitudes toward selling land to outsiders is one of the most interesting of all changes in the village. Until about 1942, Tepoztecans were very reluctant to sell their land to outsiders. A leading Mexican banker who wanted to build his home in the village had to negotiate for over a year before he could succeed in buying a modest-sized, idle plot of land whose Tepoztecan owner had been residing in Mexico City for many years. Similarly, one of my assistants had to wait for months before she was able to find a plot of land, and then she could only buy one at a considerable distance from the center.

When I returned to the village three years later, a change had occurred; Tepoz-

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tween *sitios urbanos* (urban house sites) and *predios rústicos* (rural parcels), and they are listed separately in the property register. Furthermore, a Tepoztecan who owns only an urban house site is not considered a landowner. This, despite the fact that some *sitios* have sufficient land to plant a patch of corn. Traditionally, the house site milpas are used principally for fresh corn. In 1944, however, less than 20 per cent of all house sites were planted in corn, a lower figure no doubt than that prevailing in 1926; as the population is increasing, the house sites are getting smaller because they are usually divided up for purposes of inheritance.

Second, Redfield's statement concerning the "appendant milpa" may refer to an old pattern which has not existed in the village since long before the Revolution of 1910, and I could find only a vague tradition of it remembered by a few older informants. After some investigation of this point I could not find a single example of a house site in the village with an "appendant milpa." The inheritance pattern that prevails today and that, as far as I was able to determine, has prevailed for a long time would rule out the situation of each house site having an "appendant milpa." It is common practice for the father to divide the inheritance, so that the house site goes to one child and the milpa to another.

It is possible that the conception of Tepoztecans as a landed peasantry was taken up from Redfield by Stuart Chase, who described Tepoztlán as a village with economic security. This is especially ironical in view of the fact that Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapata country and was one of the first villages in Morelos to join the Revolution which, in this region, was essentially a bitter struggle for the land.

It has become traditional among historians, economists, and sociologists, in writing on the history of the agrarian problem in Mexico, to distinguish between two fundamental types of social and economic organization: the so-called free village and the hacienda. The free village represents the older Indian form of organization, and the hacienda represents the Spanish form. Much of Mexican history has been described as a struggle between these two ways of life. One of the best statements on this situation is the following:

> The stage is set. On the one hand is the institution of private property, already present in its incipient forms in pre-Conquest days, but now, with the importation of the *encomienda*, the *peonía*, and *caballería*, fortified, strengthened, and ready to develop in stature and power until soon it stands full grown as the classic type of landed estate—the hacienda. On the other hand is the landholding, communal village rooted deep in age-old custom and tradition and now given life and legal support in the reorganized native pueblo and in the scores of new villages soon to be founded on the Indian model. From this point of view the history of Mexico is, in its most fundamental aspects the drama of the struggle between feudalism and the free village, between the individual private estate and the collective, communal holding-in fine, between the hacienda and the *ejido*. For almost four hundred years it is the hacienda which wins. The victories of the villages are only temporary triumphs; slowly but surely the *ejido* is pushed back and back until by the turn of the twentieth century only in the mountain fastness and in a

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of the oxen were killed during the Revolution; and in the early twenties, mules and donkeys were used and are still used by some of the poorer families. Tepoztecans buy most of their oxen in the nearby state of Guerrero and in the southern part of the state of Morelos. By 1944 there were 179 oxen teams in the village. (See Table 28.)

It can be seen from this table that only 57 per cent of the landowners owned oxen. In general, those barrios which have a higher percentage of larger land-holdings show a higher number of families owning plows and oxen. In Tepoztlán it is considered uneconomical for a farmer with only a few hectares to own oxen. Furthermore, the high cost of oxen makes it impossible for most Tepoztecans to own any, and teams may be rented by the day or the season. (See Table 29.)

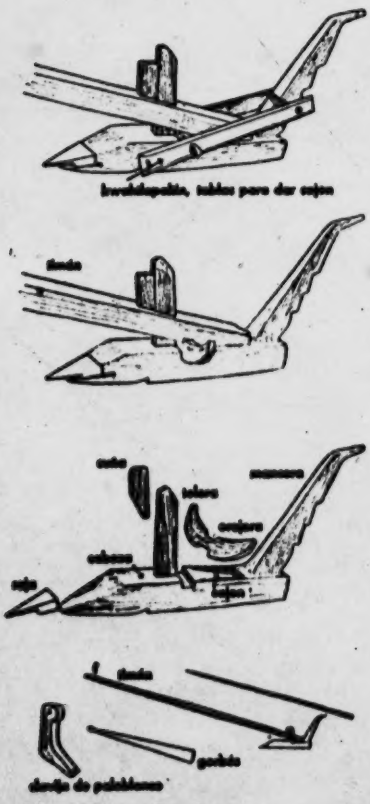

Fig. 24. The wooden plow.

Fig. 25. The steel plow.

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pasture. For this reason, many farmers hire several peons at this time, involving an outlay of cash. At least one peon is often hired during the plowing and seeding and the first cultivation. Farmers not owning oxen and plows must rent them.

The cost of production does not always have relation to the amount of corn produced, because some fields require more work than others. In the specific cases given in Table 33 the larger production was offset by higher costs (about 32 pesos per *carga* in Plot I) and conversely, the plot which required least outlay in cash or labor yielded the least corn (about 24 pesos per *carga* in Plots II and III). Differences in cash value of the corn produced are due to the changes in market price. Those who are forced to sell immediately after the harvest receive lower prices than those who hold on.

HOE CULTURE

The land used for *tlacolol* (hoe culture) is of two distinct types, located in different areas of the municipio. One type is known as *texcal*, which is covered with black volcanic rock and a semi-deciduous scrub forest in which the leaves fall and rot during the dry season and make a rich but thin topsoil in little pockets among the rocks. The other type of land is known as *cerros*, and refers to the mountainsides. Most of the *cerros* used for *tlacolol* are of lime rockbeds with many rock outcroppings and scrub forests, but of a somewhat different nature than in the *texcal*. Both types of land are at some distance from Tepoztlán, so that the farmers who work this land must spend approximately two hours each way in going and returning from work.

The use of the communal lands for *tlacolol* is a fairly recent phenomenon in spite of the fact that Tepoztlán has had its communal lands since pre-Conquest times. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 during the Díaz regime, the well-to-do *caciques* who controlled the political life of the municipio forcibly prohibited the use of the communal lands for *tlacolol*. As we have indicated earlier, their primary motive was to assure themselves of a labor supply for their own lands. One of the principal changes in the economic life of the village brought about by the Revolution was to deprive the *caciques* of their power and to return to the people the right to use their communal lands. But in the years immediately following the Revolution, that is between 1920 and 1927, relatively few individuals became *tlacololeros*. The population of the village was still small and there was a relative abundance of rentable land because of the absence of many families from the village.

In 1927 the municipio lost control of the *tlacolol* lands, which passed to the jurisdiction of the forestry department. At this time Tepoztecans lost their right to work *tlacolol* because the forestry department, as part of its national program of conservation and prevention of soil erosion, forbade the indiscriminate cutting and burning of trees—an integral part of the process of preparing *tlacolol* land for cultivation. With the rapid increase of population in the thirties, the shortage of land became acute and the need for the *tlacolol* land urgent. Many individuals began to open *tlacolol* plots illegally and were fined.

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8 *local industry and trade:*

LIVESTOCK

231 There is relatively little livestock in Tepoztlán and most of it is of poor quality. The Revolution of 1910–20 saw the destruction of practically all domestic animals [669] in Tepoztlán, and present herds have been slowly and painfully acquired since [454] then.[1] Tepoztecans, because of their experience during the Revolution, still view investment in cattle as precarious, and they invest only as a steppingstone to the acquisition of land or as a secondary source of investment. It should be noted, [233] however, that cattle raising was never an important industry in Tepoztlán and never became well integrated in the local economy. Topographical conditions and climate in the municipio are not conducive to large-scale stock raising. The land is steep, rocky, and forested; the little level land is used for agriculture. During the dry season, which begins in December, pasture becomes progressively scarce and by March the cattle are excessively thin. In these months, herds are generally reduced by fifteen to twenty per cent.

The care given to cattle is minimal. For the most part, cattle graze on the communal lands and in the cornfields after the harvest. Only milk cows, plow-oxen, and pack mules and horses are given fodder, such as hay or sesame plants, poor corn, and sugar cane stalks brought by Tepoztecans who work on near-by haciendas. Occasionally they are given salt to keep them "tame," and almost any disease or [232] sign of ill health is treated with a mixture of vinegar, lemon, and *sal de nitro*. Hoof and mouth disease is treated with applications of iodine to the affected parts, a cure which Tepoztecans claim gives excellent results.

231 Care of animals in Tepoztlán consists mostly of guarding them against the danger of being lost or stolen. A great deal of time is spent in watching livestock, 685 irrespective of whether the family owns only one or two animals or a herd of thirty or forty. Cattle stealing is frequent and is one of the hazards of cattle raising. Some families have lost over twenty-five head of cattle in a few years. It is said

[1] Only a few families managed to escape with their animals to southern Guerrero.

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled, cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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443 "raquítico," as the Tepoztecans would say. Furthermore, the quality of the local
178 fruits and other goods is poor and, unlike other Mexican villages, little care is given
[438] to display. There is also little variety of goods, and it is difficult to predict what will be available from one market day to another. In short, the market at Tepoztlán shows symptoms of decline.

In addition to the market days, there are permanent stores in the plaza. As has been indicated earlier, their number has increased and they have spread to the outlying barrios. The stores sell most of the daily household necessities and have a [438] fairly stable clientele. Most sales are in small quantities because of the Tepoztecan [439] custom of running to the store once or twice a day. But Tepoztecans are going to Cuernavaca more and more, and are making larger purchases; this has been a blow to local tradesmen who cannot compete with the Cuernavaca stores and market.

[438] Itinerant merchants who peddle through the village streets come with a wide [452] variety of goods, such as blankets, *petates*, palm-bottomed chairs, sweets, and clothing. In recent years these merchants have introduced selling on the installment plan, and make collections on their rounds.

[437] Goods are also circulated by barter between families, although this is declining. [465] Corn may be exchanged for eggs or other food. Corn is still used as payment for wages or for the services of *curanderos*, especially when small sums are involved.

439 Most Tepoztecan produce is sold outside the village, primarily in Cuernavaca.
[433] It is estimated that Tepoztecans sell approximately 1,000 *cargas* of corn per year. Many poor people complain that they have to go to Cuernavaca to purchase corn because none is available locally. Other Tepoztecan cash crops, charcoal and *ciruelas*, are also sold outside the village; charcoal goes to Yautepec and Cuernavaca, and *ciruelas* go to Cuernavaca and Mexico City.

[669] Before the Revolution, Tepoztecans' trade relations spread over a wide area
[177] ranging from southern Jojutla, Guerrero, Ozumba in the Federal District, Puebla, Xochimilco, and Mexico City. Indigo was sold to Puebla, which, in turn, supplied dried fish. Merchants made frequent trips to Mexico City by foot, and the following account from an informant, aged 67, gives some idea of the role of the merchant and middleman in Tepoztlán before the Revolution.

[438] My father was a farmer, a butcher, and a tradesman. He worked his fields and slaughtered pigs which he sold to the neighboring villages of the municipio, but especially in San Andrés and Gabriel Mariaca. Later he would go to the southern part of the state of Morelos to buy up fruit and send it to Mexico City where he would live for a portion of the year to sell the fruit. He would leave Tepoztlán in April or May. He returned here in early June to plant and remained here in June, July, August, and September. At the end of September he returned to Mexico City until November. After All Saints' Day he would return for the harvest.

[484] My father went to Mexico City on foot, and the trip took all day. We would leave the village about 6:00 A.M., arrive at Xochimilco at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. The route was as follows: first to San Juan, then to a rancho called Oshokiah, in the mountains; from Oshokiah to

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It is apparent that there are no younger people in the upper group and very few in the middle group. The bulk of the younger people are at the low end of the scale. Conversely, the wealthiest are of an advanced age, mostly between fifty and sixty-nine. Forty-one per cent of the heads of families in Group I are over age fifty; 59 per cent are in Group II; and 74 per cent are in Group III. But while most of the wealthy are of advanced age, not all the old people are wealthy. The fact that 41 per cent of those in Group I are older people shows that vertical mobility is quite limited. The practice of not dividing up the property until the death of the parents often results in married sons, with as many as five children, being entirely landless and without a house of their own.

There are no institutionalized barriers to vertical mobility in Tepoztlán. No single group has a monopoly of the means of production or the sources of wealth. No single group controls sufficient capital or labor to achieve wealth by its use or exploitation. The rate of capital accumulation is very slow because of the limited natural resources, the poor technology, and the low productivity, since the family is the basic productive unit. Nevertheless, there is a trend toward the concentration of wealth, especially in land. The upper economic group, though constituting only four per cent of all the families, owns approximately twenty-five per cent of the land, including some of the best land. Cattle ownership shows a similar trend.

It should be emphasized that there were no younger men as heads of families in the upper economic group. And the majority of the young men now in Groups I and II have little prospect of ever achieving the top position. In this sense there is little upward mobility possible in Tepoztlán. In keeping with this situation, we find that most Tepoztecans are convinced of the impossibility of becoming wealthy, and accordingly do not organize their lives around the goal of wealth. Rather, they are concerned with the day-to-day problems of subsistence. It is primarily among the families of Group II that we find higher aspirations, and it is from this group that there is some upward mobility.

Though the upper group is small, it is important to note that more people qualify for the upper group now than would have been the case before the Revolution, indicating that there has been increased upward movement since that time. Indeed, the shape of the social and economic pyramid has changed considerably. Before the Revolution the distribution of wealth was more concentrated in the hands of a few at the top of the pyramid, and the majority of Tepoztecans were day laborers for the local *caciques* and haciendas. One of the effects of the Revolution was to broaden the land base, enlarge the class of small landowners or *ejidatarios*, and at the same time increase the size of the upper group. It must also be noted that at least half of the families in the upper group worked their way up and are not members of the old *cacique* families. The wealthy are largely a new group who have taken advantage of the greater economic and political liberties since the Revolution. In fact, some of them were Zapatistas who had fought against the old regime.

Some of the newly rich got their start during the hectic days of the Revolution

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when they were able to buy land at low prices from hungry and half-starved villagers. The chaotic conditions during the Revolution, and the burning of the local archives and property registers, enabled some families to obtain land by devious methods. When the *caciques* fled the village, their lands were cultivated by the poorer families who remained. For the most part, however, these lands were returned to the owners or their heirs when they came back after peace had been established. In some poor families in which the head of the family was killed in the Revolution, the widows lost their land because they could show no legal title and were too poor to fight the cases in the courts.

Perhaps the most important ways in which families have obtained their wealth since the Revolution are through hard work, thrift, and self-denial over many years, and through the purchase and sale of cattle. Cattle trips to Guerrero and southern Morelos immediately after the Revolution were dangerous, and only those with courage, initiative, and a little capital went. In regard to self-denial, it is a common saying in Tepoztlán that the rich are the most miserly and thrifty. The terms *codo* (stingy) and *miserable* are often applied to the rich by their poorer neighbors. It should also be noted that in practically all cases of better-to-do families, the wife has been a hard worker and a good manager and has played a crucial part in aiding the family.

Movement down the economic ladder is occasioned by a number of factors. The fact that property is divided more or less equally among all the children makes it difficult for the same family to maintain its high position from one generation to another, although the sons of such families have an obvious advantage over the sons of landless families. But there are also other factors. Illness, lack of thrift, or poor management may result in a rapid loss of resources. Well-to-do families are also subject to some pressure from the community to participate in the fiesta life, and some of the wealthier families spend more heavily on costumes for the Carnaval and accept the job of barrio *mayordomo*, which always entails expenses. But as a rule it is the families of the middle group that go in for this type of spending.

HOUSING AND HOUSE FURNISHINGS

The houses of Tepoztlán are essentially of three types, the primitive *jacal*, the adobe house, and the more substantial dwellings found in the center of the village. The *jacal* and the adobe house are basically Indian, and the houses in the center show more of the Spanish influence.

The *jacal* is the poorest type of house in Tepoztlán and is considered primitive and extremely undesirable by the majority of the population. (See Fig. 35.) It is a flimsy structure of cornstalks or *otate* (Mexican bamboo), with thatched roof and earthen floor that give insufficient protection against cold, wind, and rain. The roof is apt to be gabled, in contrast with the one-sided sloping roof that is common in the village. The *jacal* is relatively infrequent in Tepoztlán and makes up less than 5 per cent of all dwellings; it is almost entirely limited to the smaller, outlying barrios, particularly in the upper part of the village. The *jacal* is far more

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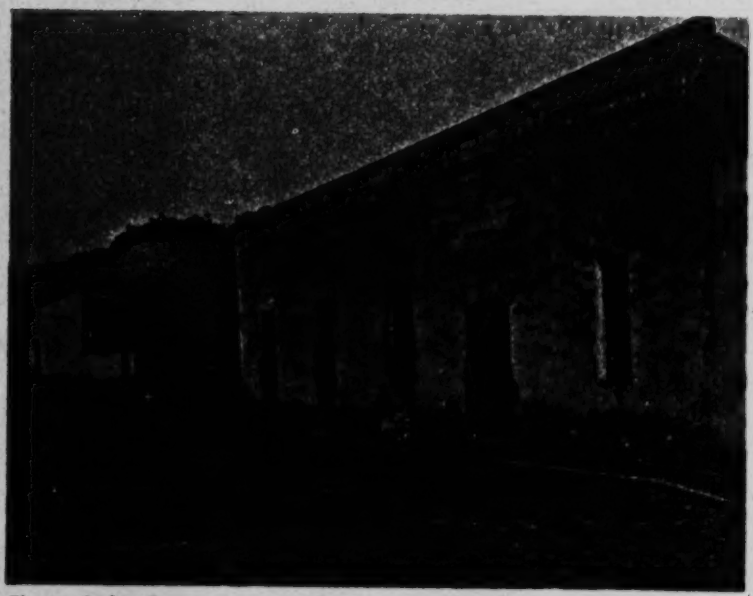

Fig. 37. *Cacique* homes.

umns. The rooms of the house are grouped in a rectangle or U-shape and open onto a wide *corredor*, which generally runs the inside length and sides of the house, enclosing the patio. These houses are constructed of brick or stone, covered with plaster, and whitewashed inside and out. A good number of these houses are now in disrepair. Not infrequently the families living in them are the impoverished sons or widows of formerly wealthy men. 342 511

While only the poorest live in *jacales*, it is by no means true that the wealthiest live in the finest houses. Families of every category of wealth live in simple adobe houses. A few of the richest men, who represent the conservative older generation, continue to live in relatively unimproved houses. 342 511 556

There is a distinct tendency for newly rich families to build their homes with simple exteriors, even though the interior may have a degree of elegance and the family can well afford a more imposing looking house. This is done to avoid getting the reputation of being wealthy and to avoid the envy and malice of others. The violence and destruction wreaked against the homes of the wealthy during the Revolution are well remembered, and a few informants made specific reference to the fear of such a recurrence in explaining why they had built their new homes with such plain exteriors. [735] [578] [669]

The great majority of houses in Tepoztlán have no running water or sanitary facilities of any kind. Water is carried in tin cans from the closest public fountain; 312 511

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of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

Barrio	Dresses*	*Pantalones*	Shoes (Daily)
Santo Domingo	68.8	37.4	18.5
La Santísima	74.0	52.0	26.0
San Miguel	70.6	46.2	25.9
Santa Cruz	65.1	21.3	3.9
Los Reyes	70.0	17.5	1.7
San Sebastián	63.2	16.6	2.0
San Pedro	65.8	8.8	0.0

The use of dresses is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree

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Another document written four years later gives the fullest account we have of the officials and the political organization of the village.[28] This document lists the same officials as the one of 1575, but in addition lists many others, including the church officials. The document reveals clearly the integration of church and state, and is interesting in that it reveals the existence of a remarkably large government bureaucracy, certainly when compared with present conditions in the village.

From the latter part of the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century we have little data on political history in Tepoztlán. Before the Revolution, from about 1880 to 1910, Tepoztlán was governed by local *caciques* who held power with the aid and support of the Díaz regime. Older informants remember back to the time of the *cacique* Felipe Gómez, who was the president of the municipio for a number of years beginning about 1880. Tradition has it that Gómez was dictatorial. He sold wood from the communal lands to the neighboring haciendas and pocketed the money. He prevented the Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* and from producing charcoal for sale. Those who protested were recruited into the army or sent to the penitentiary, Quintana Roo. Finally the villagers rose against him and he was murdered in his house, which was in the center of the village where the new school now stands.

Gómez was followed by Vicente Ortega, a famous *cacique* who was in office from about 1887 to 1910. It was during his regime that the Wells Fargo Company built the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Railroad which runs through the municipio. The coming of the railroad led to much internal tension in the village; it was opposed by Tepoztecans who accused Ortega and the government in power of selling out to the gringos. It is said that Ortega received one peso for each tree cut down by the railroad workers, and that much of the income enriched him. However, it must be noted that this money was also utilized for public improvements in the village. The water pipeline was put in in 1902, the Palacio Municipal was built a few years earlier, the market place was improved, and oil lamps were set up on the main street to provide night lighting.

During the Ortega regime, in 1893, there was a small and abortive attempt to overthrow him. The story of this incident is told in the autobiography of one of my informants and is here paraphased.

> In 1893 a man by the name of Canuto Neri, of the state of Guerrero, headed a small armed uprising against the Díaz government. A Tepoztecan, Roberto Ibarra, sympathized with the movement and sought to enlist support for it in the village. He managed to recruit twenty men who met secretly and Ibarra was made a colonel. Three nights later they started the rebellion by shooting off their guns in the plaza and crying "Death to Vicente Ortega." However, Ortega was not frightened. He armed his servants and waited for the rebels to come for him. But the insurrectionists were frightened and went home. Colonel Ibarra, however, left for the town of Tlayacapan to see his *compadre* Quiroz, who was also in the plan for the uprising and had the rank of general. Ibarra related

[28] *Ibid.*, Exp. 252. See Chapter 4, "Economics: General Aspect and Historical Background," p. 92, for the officials listed in this document.

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what had happened and Quiroz asked many questions, getting the names of each of the rebels. Then Quiroz felt a sudden pride in being able to tell the government, so he called Yautepec and asked them to send troops saying, "Come here quickly for here is the *pájaro de cuenta* (culprit)." Meanwhile Quiroz entertained Colonel Ibarra and had his wife serve a meal. Two hours later the troops arrived and surrounded the house Quiroz then said, "Compadre, we are besieged. When you came in someone must have seen you and informed the government." Then Ibarra gave himself up.

Ortega voluntarily retired from public life and was followed by a triumvirate consisting of Demetrio Rojas, José Donaciano Navarrette, and Don Pedro Mesa. This group took over the responsibility for the administration of the communal resources and were most unpopular because of their refusal to permit Tepoztecans the use of the communal lands.

The first serious threat to the dominant position of the *caciques* in the village occurred in 1909, just on the eve of the Revolution. The occasion was the contest for state governor. The Díaz candidate Escandón was opposed by Patricio Leyva. The village divided and a Comité Liberal Tepozteco was formed with Leyva as its candidate. The leaders of the pro-Leyva group were Refugio Sánchez, Esequiel Labastida, and Bernabel Labastida, all of whom were later to become Zapatistas. The slogan of Leyva was "Down with Porfirio Díaz." Demetrio Rojas imprisoned Bernabel Labastida and had him sent to Quintana Roo on what informants say were trumped-up charges of robbery. In addition, they had the support of two Tepoztecans who had been living in Mexico City since 1901, Tranquilino Hernández of the barrio of Santo Domingo, and Carlos Ortiz Rojas of La Santísima. The men were members of the Typographical Union of Mexico City and had helped found the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, known as CROM, one of the first Mexican labor organizations. These two Tepoztecans later played an important role in the political life of the village during the twenties.

Escandón won the governorship, and apparently the Díaz regime was in. But suddenly in 1910 the Revolution broke out in the north and it was not long before it started up in Morelos. It should be noted in this connection that Tepoztlán was one of the first places in the state of Morelos to join the Revolution.

Few villages in Mexico have suffered more than Tepoztlán during the Revolution. In February, 1911, more than a year before Zapata's call for revolt in Morelos, Tepoztlán was liberated from the rule of the local *caciques* and the Díaz days were over. The village was the scene of repeated invasions, first by rebel troops and then by government forces. From the start the villagers' sympathies were with the rebels. The promise of land was a great appeal, but for a time the Tepoztecans attempted to continue their normal routines and remain neutral in the impending struggles. This was impossible, since neither the Zapatistas nor the Federales would have it that way.

The Zapatistas recruited soldiers and demanded services from the villagers, just as did the Carrancistas later on. The difference, however, was that most of the villagers helped the former voluntarily but were forced to help the latter. As a rule

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the Zapatista forces rarely were stationed in the village for more than a few days at a time since they were guerrilla fighters.

The Federales, on the other hand, set up troops whenever they could hold the village. Tepoztecans suffered at the hands of both the rebels and the government forces. Cattle were killed off, corn was requisitioned, women raped. Most informants attribute to the Carrancistas the greatest brutalities. Because of the pro-rebel sympathies of Tepoztecans, the government forces on a number of occasions carried off hundreds of Tepoztecan men and women as hostages to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Tepoztecans were suspected of secretly helping the Zapatista forces, and by removing the women to Cuernavaca the government prevented them from making tortillas for the rebels. Moreover, the village was partially burned by Federales in 1912, 1913, and 1914.

By 1915 the village was in the hands of the Carrancistas, but then the Zapatista counter-offensive began and Tepoztlán again changed hands. During 1914, 1915, and 1916 the villagers fled to the *cerros* and lived there for as long as six months at a time. The men would sometimes steal back to the village to pick up some fruit or supplies and to bury their dead.

During 1916 Tepoztlán suffered a severe typhoid epidemic, thought to have been brought by the Carrancista troops. It was not until 1918 that the fighting was definitely over.

The history of the Revolution in Tepoztlán demonstrates a fundamental lack of unity among the people. Within the first few months after the revolt began, some of the ablest Tepoztecan rebel leaders had killed off one another and the village was left with no leadership. Only a handful of Tepoztecans understood the ideals of the Zapata movement and were motivated by them. Most Tepoztecans, though attracted by the promises that they would be given the lands of the neighboring haciendas, joined the conflict only when it was absolutely necessary in terms of self-defense. Were it not for the terrible abuses of the Federales it is probable that most Tepoztecans would have remained neutral.

In getting accounts of the Revolution from informants we found that many, particularly the women, had only the vaguest notion of what the Revolution was about. The following excerpts paraphrased from the life stories of informants give some of the details of life during the difficult days of the Revolution:

At first I gave little attention to the beginning of the Revolution. I saw soldiers, Federales, in the Palacio Municipal. They seemed alarmed and on the alert. They wore black hats with pompoms. I asked my father what this all meant and he told me the Revolution was coming. And so it came to pass. In February or March of 1911 Gabriel Tepepa and Lucio Moreno, the latter from the village of Gabriel Mariaca, entered the village at the head of troops. There was no battle. All I heard were cries, "Viva Madero," "Viva la Virgen de Gaudalupe." Then the people in my barrio were alarmed and little groups began to form to ask what was happening. I learned that the Revolution had begun and that they had burned the documents in the municipal archives. They looked for the *caciques* but could not find them, for they had heard the attack on the Palacio and had fled. The revolutionaries then broke into the *cacique* houses and ransacked them. Lucio

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Moreno and Tepepa were here only one day; they just passed through. They were guerrilla fighters and left for the *cerros*. Although the *cacique* families had fled there were no demonstrations in the village. Everyone remained silent. 175 669

The trouble really began when my uncle, the brother of my mother, Bernabel Labastida of the barrio of San Miguel, entered the village a short while after Moreno. He found Moreno in power here. Moreno had established his headquarters behind the *cerro* Chicuasenac. Labastida had returned to take vengeance upon the *caciques* who had sent him to Quintana Roo. When he found that they had gone he sought out the brother of one of them, a Cresenciano Guzmán, and executed him. He also killed Jesús Mora.

At this time the greater part of the villagers was behind the rebels. Many joined up with them. The rebels put guards at three points—Chalchi, Huilotepec, and Celotzin, all dominating *cerros*. It was the duty of the *pacíficos* to take turns at watching. Two men were put at each of the three points. They were to signal the approach of troops by setting off an explosion. The rebels had 50-calibre Remingtons, 44-calibre rifles, and a few U. S. Winchesters. Some had their own *escopetas de pistón* in which they had to pack powder for each shot. Some had 38-calibre pistols.

The first attack came in Gabriel Mariaca about April when Patricio Leyva tried to enter the village at the head of Federal troops. He was met by his old friend Labastida, who now opposed him. Leyva and his troops got into the church. The battle lasted all afternoon. Meanwhile the villagers went up to the top of Chalchi to watch the battle. It was obvious that they sympathized with the rebels, for they wore red serapes as if to indicate that they wanted blood. The Federales retreated during the night.

Labastida had his headquarters on the site of Tlatlocapan just above the barrio of San Pedro on the outskirts of the village. On May 11 he imprisoned José Gómez and planned to have him executed. The Gómez family complained to Lucio Moreno. Moreno came to see Labastida with the idea of assassinating him because of the excesses he was committing. The two leaders met and shot one another. Thus both leaders of the Revolution in Tepoztlán were killed within the first few months. Teófolo Martínez was named head of both groups of troops. But Martínez was not a Tepoztecan and he fell out with Refugio Sánchez, another Tepoztecan leader. Martínez wanted to elope with the daughter of Refugio and when Refugio protested he was arrested by Martínez. Tepoztecans came to his aid and killed Martínez.

About ninety per cent of the troops defending the village were Tepoztecans. In all there were about 200 armed men. But when the battles began the *pacíficos* were expected to help. The *ayudantes* from each of the *demarcaciones* of the village collected tortillas twice a day in large sacks and carried them to the soldiers. Most women gave the tortillas voluntarily. Only the families of the *caciques* were against the rebels. Many women went to the church to pray for the rebels. The rebel generals ordered the citizens to cut poles, light them, and group together in large numbers on the *cerros* to give the enemy the impression of a large army.

In 1912 Federal troops took the village and set up their headquarters in the church. In March of this year the Zapatistas attacked.

In 1914 and 1915 there were people in the village under the control of the Zapatistas. At the end of 1914 most of the people left for the *cerros*. In 1915 and also in 1916 there was much planting. But in September, 1916, almost all of the population left for the *cerros*.

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In March, 1916, the Carrancistas came and we escaped. We went to Jiutepec, my father and I. I feared they might get us. Some took up arms to defend themselves. We heard some women say that the Carrancistas were not molesting the *pacíficos* so we went back to Santa Catarina to learn more about true conditions. We heard that all we had to do was to show a white flag. We did, with our three animals. At about the place of the present kilometer 16 on the road, we were stopped. They wanted to take our animals but we pleaded and they let us go. When we got back to the village we found that a couple were living in our house. The man was a sub-lieutenant of the Carrancistas. This helped us very much for at that time the Carrancistas were compelling the people to work as forced laborers.

Formerly, in the time of Zapatismo we had paper money and lots of bills but we couldn't buy anything. Prices were high. A small piece of soap cost 60, 70 pesos. A plate of soup cost three pesos. Silver was scarce. In 1912 and 1913 there was still some silver but by 1914 and 1915 paper money ruined confidence and prices soared. But in 1916 with the Carrancistas there was a great change. Money was recognized by the government and prices went down. In 1914-15 there was a commercial blockade of Morelos and that is why prices went up.

The Carrancistas paid well at first for any work done, and trade again flourished in the village. For a while the blockade was over. But by June the situation again changed. General Marino and Timoteo Sánchez were among those who broke the Carrancista line and put up their headquarters in nearby Tlayacapan. And the Zapatistas began their successful counter-offensive. In August, 1916, the Zapatistas took over the village, but left after one day.

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From March to early July of 1916 things were bad in the village. Julio Quiroz was the president and he tyrannized all the Zapatistas. Jesús de Mesa was the secretary. There was a great typhoid epidemic. They buried about ten a day. Our business [making coffins] increased. We thought the Carrancistas brought the epidemic. On August 16 the Zapatistas killed many Carrancistas and the local government fled.

After the successful Zapatista attack of August, Tepoztecans went to the Carrancista governor of the state of Morelos, General Dionesio Carrión, to ask for guarantees for the village because the Carrancista soldiers who came in after a successful attack were killing peaceful citizens.

Gabriel Rojas was appointed as president of the municipio, and my father was secretary for a while. But then the Zapatistas attacked and now they remained in the Chalchi Cerro while the Carrancista troops occupied the Cerro del Tepozteco and Cuaiyolwalotzin. Now the village was caught in the crossfire of the battle. The Carrancistas kept using artillery against the Zapatistas who held their fire.

We fled to the Cerro de Cematzin on the side of the Zapatistas. We were there two days. The Carrancistas climbed Chalchi and began to fire on the *pacíficos*. Again we fled to a cave. We had no tortillas. We feared the Carrancistas were encircling us. We fled to the Cerro de Barriga del Plata, then to the Cerro de Algodonar. Now it was dark and we entered the *texcal* area towards Amatlán. We ate some green corn and I became ill with fever. We ate only *guayavas* and *calabazas* that we found. Since the situation looked very bad we decided we might better go to Cuernavaca. (During this time my mother was in the village with the other children.) We entered Cuernavaca at night. My father carried me half of the way.

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In February of 1917 the Carrancistas left the village and the Tepoztecans began to return from the *cerros* and nearby villages where they were dispersed. We were left without animals and in complete poverty.

By 1919 the state of Morelos began to be pacified. The state governor appointed Jesús Monroy, a non-Tepoztecan and a military man, to serve as president of the municipio of Tepoztlán. Monroy called meetings of the populace and advised them that the time of civil war and recriminations was over and they must now attempt to normalize their lives and rebuild village life. But work was scarce because of the destruction of the neighboring haciendas during the war years. Monroy therefore organized the Tepoztecans into brigades, gave them axes, and paid them a daily wage for cutting down the forests and making charcoal which he sold. At first Tepoztecans cooperated but soon this led to bitter resentment, for the communal forest resources were being depleted and this was the only wealth the village had. Indeed, the political history of the village for the next twenty years centered on the issue of the preservation of the communal resources. On the whole the ex-Zapatistas led the group favoring the conservation of this resource, while the sons of the former *caciques* led the group in favor of the continued exploitation of these resources.

To understand the political developments in the village we must turn briefly to Mexico City where an organization called Colonia Tepozteco was formed. This was an organization of Tepoztecans who had left the village before or during the Revolution. The organizers were Don José Donaciano Rojas, Mariano Rojas, Jesús Conde, and Pablo García. The aims of the organization were to be purely cultural and non-political. They were to work for the elimination of illiteracy, the preservation of the native Náhuatl, the development of a broad civic interest among Tepoztecans, and finally, "To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the pueblo, so as to realize the aspiration of the Colonia." [24]

The first important act of the Colonia was to get the governor of the state of Morelos to substitute a Tepoztecan, José Oliveros, then living in Mexico City, as the president of the municipio. But the Colonia did nothing to stop the large-scale production of charcoal. This led to a split within the ranks of the Colonia as well as among the villagers. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández, members of the Colonia, began to form an opposition group. These men were socialistically minded and urged upon the Colonia Tepozteco that they concentrate their efforts on the economic problems of the village. As a first step they demanded the preservation of the communal forest resources. When the Colonia turned down their plan, Ortiz and Hernández resigned and accused the organization of attempting to re-establish the old social system based upon *cacique* rule.

Meanwhile, in early 1922 a group of Tepoztecans led by Dimas Martínez of the barrio of La Santísima organized a group of about thirteen Tepoztecans. They pro

[24] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 210.

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In 1923 the national presidential campaign for Calles began and the Unión, under the guidance of Ortiz and Hernández, backed Calles. But the revolt of Huerta against Obregón occurred at this time, and Ortiz and Hernández came to Tepoztlán to organize the village against Huerta. The Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán, ex-Zapatistas, joined the troops of Don Genova de la O, head of operations in the state of Morelos for the Obregón forces. Ortiz obtained about fifty 30-30 rifles for the Hernández brothers and other active members of the Unión who were anti-Huerta. The Huerta revolt was put down and the Unión became stronger in the village.

In 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, the Unión succeeded in having its slate of candidates elected to the local government. It was during the term of office of Rafael Gutiérrez that the Bolsheviki revived the village *cuatequitl*, which had not functioned since the pre-Revolution days, and built the public washing places, improved the market places, and paved many streets.

In the latter part of 1926 the Cristeros entered Tepoztlán but were repulsed by Tepoztecans who were organized by the Hernández brothers. This increased the prestige of the Bolsheviki in the village, but their domination was not to last long. Toward the latter part of 1927 the Centrales became active politically and were armed by the newly appointed head of operations for the state of Morelos, Juan Domínguez. Now both village factions had arms. In December of 1927 the Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán declared themselves in rebellion against the local authorities. At this point some of the Bolsheviki members of the local government fled to Mexico City.

The Centrales, led by Juan Hidalgo, now organized armed defense corps known as the Defensa Social and the village was again in the throes of a minor civil war. The Hernández brothers and their followers had many sympathizers in the village. They killed Valentín Ortiz, whom they considered a *cacique* and therefore an enemy.

In February of 1928 on the day of the Carnaval, the Hernández brothers entered the village masked as *chinelos* and carrying arms under their robes. The corps of the Defensa Social, who were on guard and armed, were taken completely by surprise. The rebels disrobed and opened fire, seeking to kill the leaders of the opposition. But in the struggle many innocent men, women, and children were killed. The casualties at the end of that day were twenty-two dead and about twenty-four wounded. With this massacre the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos came to an end. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández kept out of the state of Morelos for a long while, and within a few years three of the Hernández brothers were tracked down and shot by government forces. The remaining two were shot by relatives of the victims of the massacre of 1928.

In 1929, under the leadership of Luis Quiroz, the Unión made a come-back in the form of a new organization known as the Fraternales. A meeting of about forty Tepoztecans was held in the school and an organization called the Unión Fraternal de Campesinos Tepoztecos was formed. Its slogan was "Union, Justice, and Civili-

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175 the natives into religious associations which facilitated the administrative and political functions of the colony.

797 *Cofradías* (brotherhoods) and *gremios* (societies) were organized under the
794 auspices and protection of a saint. A *mayordomo* and other officials were chosen from among the *principales* and loyal supporters of the Crown. The system of
[575] *cofradías* had the following functions: (1) it facilitated formation of other organizations, such as cults of particular saints; (2) it simplified the collection of religious taxes; (3) it supplemented local police and helped seek out delinquents, escaped slaves, and others; (4) it aided in the collection of tribute; and (5) it provided extra companies of troops in times of emergency.

[659] The church, united as it was with the state, became very strong. Church personnel were numerous and were paid from public funds. High public officials were obliged to preside over all religious processions and ceremonies. Religious fiestas, which greatly increased church income and stimulated local trade, became very numerous during the colonial period.

THE EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE DÍAZ REGIME

175 The first years of Mexican independence from Spain passed almost unnoticed
794 in Tepoztlán, where life changed very little. The church, aided by the guarantees
659 of the plan of Iguala, continued to be united with the new state without any major changes in its organization. As a matter of fact, after being liberated from the colonial tribute, Tepoztecans were subject to an even greater tribute by the church in the form of the forced collection of the *diezmo*, a tax whereby Tepoztecans had to pay one-tenth of their produce to the church.

The first great change in the religious life of Tepoztlán occurred during the reform period of Juárez, when church and state were separated and church property confiscated. Until this time the church in Tepoztlán, as in most of Mexico, was the institution that stood for the status quo. After Juárez, the church became an aggres-
● [669] sive force struggling against the state and became involved in the so-called Wars of the Reform, fighting against the liberal orientation of the Mexican government. While we have little specific data for Tepoztlán on this point, it may be assumed that the village was also affected and that some Tepoztecans worked through church associations against the government while others participated in the liberal ranks of the victorious party of Benito Juárez. Later, during the struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, who was blessed by the Pope and had the aid of the
[648] church, we know that liberalism had penetrated into Tepoztlán, for one of Tepoztecan's sons, General Prisciliano Rodríguez, organized a column of Tepoztecans and fought heroically against invading French troops. The church had indeed lost much of its old power.

The economic revolution brought about by the amortization of the wealth of the church produced a new oligarchy which, under President Díaz, again delivered itself into the arms of the church. In Tepoztlán the new upper class, the

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ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

THE REVOLUTION

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

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794 796 Cortés Sedano, who had been selected by the priest for this purpose. The priest wrote frequent letters to Sedano, giving instructions and sending church literature for his use. The giving of Mass was a special problem since it required the presence of an ordained priest. In a letter to Cortés Sedano the priest offered a solution:

> One thing appears essential to me and that is that since it is not possible to celebrate Holy Mass with solemnity and the attendance of the faithful in person they might be told to congregate in their respective chapels at a convenient hour and there unite themselves in spirit with the priest who will celebrate it in the name of the contributors. This may be done for the days of the Holy Jubilee and for fiestas of each village and barrio. Propose this to the people concerned, for I believe the pious ones will be entirely satisfied. Please say ahead of time who have accepted this proposition so that I may fulfill their wishes on the days they designate. They may be certain that I will carry out this obligation. The charge now is five pesos, as an aid to the priests. But those who cannot give it all at once can give as much as they are able. You are charged with sending it and if they wish I will send a receipt by return mail.

779 794 The priest also made suggestions as to which books or pamphlets should be read to the congregation. For example, in a letter dated January 30, 1929, two and one-half years after he had left Tepoztlán, the priest urged Cortés Sedano to use the following pamphlets: "Prisoner of Love," "A Visit to the Altar," "My Vote for Christ the King," "One Year More," "Where Are You Going, My Son?" and others. These tracts, written in great numbers and printed in secret presses, played an important role in the church program; some were simply of a religious nature but others, such as "My Vote for Christ the King," incited armed uprising against the government.

794 669 Cortés Sedano, as the priest's representative in the village, bore the burden of the struggle. He collected money for the church, distributed the many "subversive" leaflets exhorting Catholics to join the fight against the government and gain supporters among the faithful. He was also in contact with the Cristero movement which was then opposing the government with arms in the states of Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Michoacan. His attempts to arouse similar action in Tepoztlán failed. Pro-government forces—the CROM, the Fraternales, and the Bolsheviki were [665] stronger in the village at that time and resisted the Cristero movement. A band of Cristeros once attempted to take over Tepoztlán with arms, but the village was defended by former Zapatistas, and the Cristeros were dispersed. After this incident Francisco Cortés Sedano was imprisoned as an agent of the Cristeros and the church. He was apprehended by ten federal soldiers and placed in the local jail under the supervision of José Rivera, then president of the municipio. A group of Cortés Sedano's supporters brought the prisoner tequila, salt, and lemons to comfort him.

One woman had the temerity to scold José Rivera soundly for arresting anyone on Good Friday and for offending the Lord by working on that day, an act only a Pilate would do. Her words amused the villagers and for the rest of his life the president was called "José Pilato." Cortés Sedano feared for his life but the Zapatistas

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did not shoot him. The morning after the battle with the Cristeros, Cortés Sedano was removed to the Cuernavaca prison and two days later was released by the governor with a warning. Cortés Sedano returned to the village and continued his religious work but abandoned the Cristero movement.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TODAY

The church of Tepoztlán is an integral part of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and is under the jurisdiction of a hierarchy of authorities, most of whom are outside of the municipio. Most of the characteristics of the local church are similar to Catholic churches everywhere, but a few are unique, if not to Tepoztlán, then to Mexico. For example, the Catholic Church is a highly centralized, authoritarian organization in which officials and prelates are appointed by their superiors and in which all policy is laid down by those in high positions. But in Tepoztlán, as in other Mexican villages, there is a democratic element in the election of *mayordomos* and a marked freedom in the conduct of all secular aspects of religious affairs, such as the maintenance of the barrio chapels, the celebrations of fiestas, and the collection of money for these fiestas.

Added to this type of local autonomy is the fact that the church in Tepoztlán is not a dynamic, militant organization and interferes only minimally in the private lives of the villagers. In general it is tolerant toward practices of magic, sorcery, and paganism, and toward drunkenness. Even the few Protestants have been left to go their own way. This situation is, in part, due to the passivity or disinterest of the local priest, who is himself a native Tepoztecan and tolerant of local traditions.

The arrival of a group of nuns in 1945 injected an aggressive religious attitude in the local church, for these women have actively applied pressure upon the villagers to live more Catholic lives. They have established a school to compete with the public school; they urge parents to attend services, to confess, and to have their children baptized, confirmed, and instructed in doctrine. They make frequent visits to homes, seek out those living in free union or married only by civil law and exhort them to have church marriages, and finally, they have attempted to convert several Protestants.

The complex organization of the church includes seven levels of ecclesiastic hierarchy. (See Chart 3.) The first and highest in the nation is the archbishop of Mexico. He maintains connections with Tepoztlán through the medium of circulars, pastorals, and general orders. Few if any Tepoztecans have ever seen him. Next is the bishop of Cuernavaca who is in charge of the churches in the state of Morelos. He visits Tepoztlán about once every five years, but has been seen occasionally by Tepoztecans when in Cuernavaca.

On the third level in the hierarchy is the local priest, the main figure in the central church of Tepoztlán (see Fig. 50), and the highest spiritual authority in the municipio. The fact that he is a native of Tepoztlán has facilitated his work there. Tepoztecans feel more comfortable with this priest than with all of his "foreign" predecessors, and are less inclined to complain and criticize him. His lack of

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In anger Tepoztecans frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal. If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos*, bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecan ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecan generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

How do Tepoztecans seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecans frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal*.

The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

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to sex. In the lower grades boys and girls play freely together, and in the two upper grades there is much courtship.

The influence of the school has been profound, not only for those who attend classes but for the village as a whole. This is especially true in recent years. Although schools have existed in the village for about a century, they formerly affected only a small percentage of better-to-do families. It was the great expansion of education after the Revolution that made the school a more significant factor in local life.

For [illegible] Tepoztecan children, the school is not only a source of learning the usual academic skills but also of learning new ways of living. The children are taught to wash their hands before meals, to brush their teeth, to wear clean clothing, to use handkerchiefs, to cover up coughs and sneezes, and to be punctual. They acquire new knowledge of germs, vitamins, diet, dress, social participation, and cooperation. On a different level the school teaches respect and love for the mother, and children are encouraged to make or buy a gift on Mother's Day. Through Children's Day, for which the parents and teachers collect money to buy goodies and take the children into the fields for a picnic, consideration for the needs of children is engendered. The school also encourages the celebration of family birthdays, with felicitations and small gifts.

The extent to which these teachings are practiced in daily life is difficult to determine, but they appear to be minimal. This does not mean that they are rejected; on the contrary they are generally taken to be desirable and are supplying new standards and goals. So far as we can determine, new practices are not introduced at home because of the resistance of parents to spending money on such articles as toothpaste, toothbrushes, and handkerchiefs. Some mothers complain that their children, particularly the daughters, become too fussy about being clean and refuse to go out in even slightly soiled clothing.

There is a growing tendency for young married couples, who have become independent of their parents, to practice what they have learned at school as soon as they are financially able. The young people who have attended school outside the village are more immediately and permanently affected by the school experience. Sometimes the difference in way of life between the parents and son or daughter who has been educated outside is extreme, and is reminiscent of the contrast between immigrant parents and their children born and reared in a different land.

In Tepoztlán, however, the educated person who returns to the village and lives in poverty usually reverts to the old ways.

Going to school has a different significance for girls than for boys. Girls tend to associate going to school with freedom and pleasurable activity. Being away from home and the surveillance of the mother for six hours a day and having the opportunity to play with children of the same age, to form friendships with other girls, and to meet boys, are some of the advantages school offers to girls. (Fig. 57.) They tend to feel deprived at having to leave school, and many cry and express resentment when forced to do so. Boys, on the other hand, tend to associate school with

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suffering, and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.

Now let us consider some of these differences in more detail. Redfield's account of Tepoztlán stresses the role of the communal lands as a unifying factor within the village and the municipio. While this is certainly true it is only part of the story. With the single exception of church lands, communal lands were and are individually operated, and the ideal of every Tepoztecan is to own his private plot of land. Furthermore, the communal lands have been a source of inter-village quarrels, and during the year that Redfield was in Tepoztlán these quarrels resulted in violence. Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequitl*, a traditional form of collective labor, was part and parcel of village life. He described a *cuatequitl* which occurred during his stay as if it were a common and regular occurrence. As a matter of fact, it was the first village *cuatequitl* of importance since the Revolution, and there have been very few subsequent ones. The particular *cuatequitl* which Redfield observed was due to the curious circumstance whereby a local, socialistically oriented political faction, directed from Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans who were members of the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, locally known as the Bolsheviki, revived the traditional *cuatequitl*. Before the Revolution, the village *cuatequitl* was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor but was also associated with forced labor and imposition by the local *cacique* groups which ruled the village during the Díaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional *cuatequitl* as a source of labor. In short, Redfield's account of the cooperative aspects of village life needs to be modified somewhat in the light of other data.

Redfield portrayed Tepoztlán as a community of landowners and did not mention a land problem. But we found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own private land, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources. Redfield gave a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime as having reached a period of great cultural florescence, but he failed to point out that this was limited to only a few Tepoztecans, and that the vast majority of Tepoztecans were illiterate, desperately poor, landless, and living under an oppressive political regime which forbade them to utilize their own communal resources. In this connection it is interesting to note that Tepoztlán was one of the first villages in the state of Morelos to join the Zapatista revolt against the Díaz regime. Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for

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the merging of social class differences,[4] but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially, and culturally.

Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of inter-personal relations, such as forms of greeting and the respect-relations of *compadres;* he failed to deal with some of the negative and disruptive aspects of village life, such as the fairly high incidence of stealing, quarrels, and physical violence. An examination of the local records revealed that in the year that Redfield lived in the village there were 175 reported cases of crimes and misdemeanors in the local court. Most of these cases were offenses against persons and property. Since not all cases reach the local authorities, this number is indicative of considerable conflict.

Redfield described local politics as a game, but we found that politics was a very serious affair which frequently led to violence. The year Redfield was there, the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield's leaving the village.

Another important difference between our findings concerns Redfield's delineation of the social structure of the village in terms of what he called the *tontos,* or representatives of folk culture, and the *correctos,* or representatives of city ways. It should be pointed out that Tepoztecans do not conceive of these terms as designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago. Tepoztecans use the words as descriptive adjectives, with *tonto* meaning stupid, backward, foolish, or ignorant, and with *correcto* meaning well-mannered, well-bred, proper, or correct. The poorest, least educated, and most conservative man may be *correcto* to a Tepoztecan if he is polite and behaves in the accepted manner. Similarly, a well-educated, acculturated man may be called *tonto* if he permits himself to be fooled by others or dominated by his wife. Within any one family, some of the members may be considered *tonto* and others *correcto,* depending almost entirely upon personality traits and manners.

But granting that the degree of exposure to and influence of city ways is an important criterion in making for status differences in Tepoztlán, it is by no means the only one, and certainly not the most significant one in terms of the actual operation of the many status distinctions in the village. Among status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of *ejidos, ejidatarios* and *comuneros,* farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of *caciques* and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, the concept of *tontos* and *correctos,* as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of *tontos* on the one side and *correctos* on the other. The leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members

[4] In discussing the *tontos* and *correctos,* he writes, "The periodic Revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby the difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 205.

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177 Probably the greatest changes took place in religion. As we have seen, Tepoztlán was easily converted to Catholicism, at least as far as the adoption of Catholic forms of worship, which were in many respects similar to native forms. The village became a Dominican center for religious instruction after the convent was built in the middle of the sixteenth century. The unity of church and state made the position of the church strong in Tepoztlán throughout the colonial period. The church was supported by taxes collected by the government, and ecclesiastic and secular authorities worked together in administering the population. Some of the best lands went to the church, and by the close of the colonial period the church was the largest landowner in the village. During this period the church was an active agent for culture change, particularly in its efforts to wipe out native beliefs and to establish Christianity. The church also introduced new plants; the first European vegetables brought to Tepoztlán were planted in the churchyard by the priests.

FROM 1810 TO 1910

This period was one of relative stability; the Wars of Independence from Spain seem to have had little effect on Tepoztlán. Colonial forms of life continued, on the whole, and population increased. However, the Reforms of 1857 had great importance in the village, since the church lost most of its lands. These lands were distributed among a small portion of the population, resulting in the growth of a local aristocracy, the *caciques*, who ruled the village throughout the Díaz regime. The church revived much of its power under the support of the *cacique* class, and religious life was active. Although schools were introduced early in this period, they were attended by a privileged few. A small intelligentsia developed, and for a brief period the upper class in Tepoztlán experienced a cultural florescence.

During the mid-eighties, coffee growing and ropemaking were introduced. Toward the end of the century, the railroad was built through the municipio, and Tepoztecans had their first contact with North Americans. Steel plows and wire fencing came with the railroad. This was a time of relative prosperity for the *caciques*, merchants, and artisans. The railroad encouraged the charcoal industry, giving Tepoztecans a new source of income but at the same time seriously depleting forest resources. Public improvements, such as the Municipal Building, the park and bandstand, and streets were constructed or repaired. The hacienda system was at its height, offering employment to hundreds of Tepoztecans and a market for the artisans.

The abuses of the haciendas and the local *caciques* made for discontent and discord. The people were not permitted to use the communal lands for *tlacolol*, and those who opposed the *cacique* rule were sent off to the army or to jail in Quintana Roo. Inter-village strife over the use of the forests for charcoal resulted in violence and bitterness. Finally, the landlessness and poverty of the majority of Tepoztecans led many to participate in the Revolution which was to come.

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FROM 1910 TO 1920

Tepoztlán suffered extremely during the years of the Revolution, and village life was completely disrupted. The village was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces, homes were burned, crops and animals destroyed, and the people completely impoverished and forced to flee. A large number of Tepoztecans had their first contacts with city life at this time. Village population declined markedly, many having lost their lives in battle or as a result of hunger and illness. With the Revolution, the political power of the *caciques* in Tepoztlán was broken, and the old class distinctions were abolished.[88] The church barely functioned during this period and religious life was at a standstill.

FROM 1920 TO 1930

In the ten years after the Revolution, the village struggled back to normalcy. Population increased rapidly as people returned and as living conditions improved. In 1930, constitutional government was established in the state of Morelos, providing for independent municipios and "free" elections. New political factions arose, reflecting the post-revolutionary tension and unrest, which culminated in a minor civil war in Tepoztlán. The many restrictions placed on the church by the new federal government caused the church to shut its doors, so that religious life was again at a minimum. In 1920, the Colonia Tepozteco was established in Mexico City, exposing Tepoztlán to a permanent and active urbanizing influence.

FROM 1930 TO 1945

The changes which occurred in the past twenty years have been far reaching and may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population, an improvement in health services accompanied by some decline in the importance of *curanderos*, a marked rise in the standard of living and the aspiration level of the people, the growth of a class of small landowners, the development of a greater variety and specialization in occupations, a decrease in the use of Náhuatl, and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish, a rise in literacy and the beginnings of regular newspaper reading, and a greater incorporation of the village into the main stream of national life.

The primary influences for change have been the new road, the granting of *ejidos*, and the expansion of school facilities. Corn mills were also important. Be-

[88] Here again, the concrete historical data do not follow the logic of the folk-urban continuum. One of the criteria used in Redfield's definition of the folk society is that it is a classless society. As we go toward the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum we might expect greater class differentiation. But Tepoztlán today shows much less class stratification than in 1910, so that we might conclude that Tepoztlán was more of the folk society type today than in 1910. Similarly, the classless society of the future, as envisioned by the socialists, would, according to the folk-urban continuum, have to be considered a folk society. Becker has avoided this difficulty in his sacred-secular dichotomy by setting up subtypes under each category. He distinguishes two types of sacred societies, the folk and the prescribed, each in turn with their subtypes. The socialist society would probably be classified under the sacred-prescribed type.